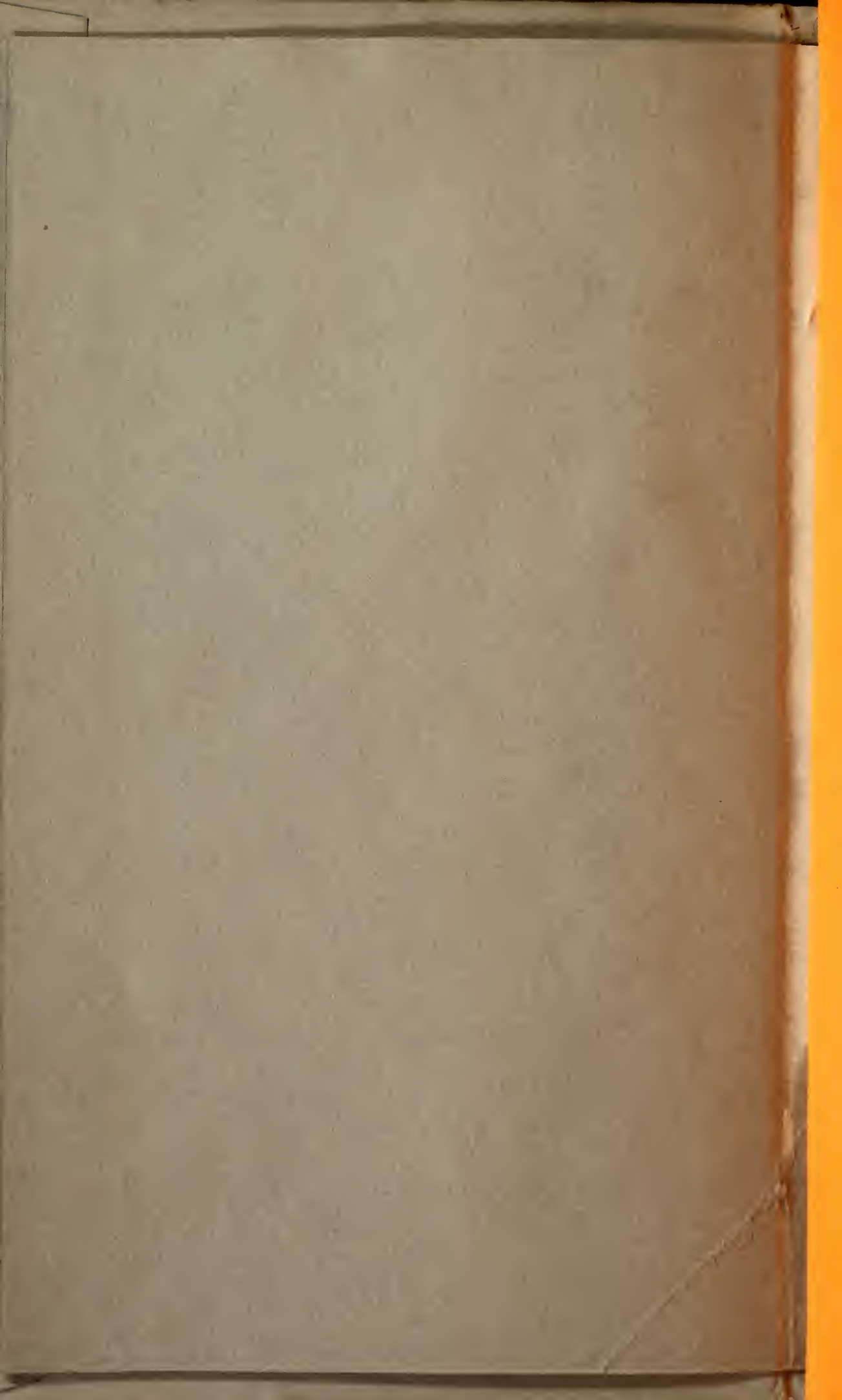




Boston, Feb-

11. 33 h

24





*The numbers "1"-29, &c on the MASSACHUSETTS LOT
indicate the numbers of the graves in each Parallel —
See List of burials.*

REPORT OF THE JOINT SPECIAL COMMITTEE
ON THE
BURIAL OF MASSACHUSETTS DEAD
AT
GETTYSBURG;

TOGETHER WITH
THE ORATION OF EDWARD EVERETT, AT THE CONSECRATION
OF THE NATIONAL CEMETERY,
AND OTHER MATTERS IN RELATION THERETO.



BOSTON:
J. E. FARWELL AND COMPANY, PRINTERS TO THE CITY,
NO. 37 CONGRESS STREET.
1863.

CITY OF BOSTON.

Mayor's Office, City Hall, July 23, 1863.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CITY COUNCIL :

THE late battle of Gettysburg, one of the most gallant achievements of the Union forces during the war, was gained at the sacrifice of the lives of many citizen soldiers of Massachusetts. In the engagement there were several regiments belonging particularly to the city of Boston. Their valor was tested on that well-fought field, and the memory of the brave who fell should be cherished by us with patriotic pride. A large proportion of them were buried by their surviving comrades on the field of battle, but received only such hasty rites of sepulture as the circumstances would warrant. It is probable that before a great length of time the field will be used for agricultural purposes, and their remains will be disturbed. In the immediate vicinity, forming in fact a portion of the scene of the battle, there is a beautiful rural Cemetery, belonging to the city of Gettysburg, about half a mile distant.

I would respectfully suggest for your consideration the propriety of purchasing a lot in the Cemetery, and having the bodies of our dead removed to it. I understand that most of them can now be readily identified, and I would suggest prompt measures to effect this end.

A correct list of those interred should be preserved, a fence should be placed around the enclosure, and a suitable monument erected at the expense of the City.

F. W. LINCOLN, JR., *Mayor.*

CITY OF BOSTON.

In Common Council, July 23, 1863.

ORDERED : That five members of the Common Council, with such as the Board of Alderman may join, be appointed a Committee to proceed to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, to procure a suitable lot in the Cemetery at that place, to cause the remains of those soldiers from this city not otherwise disposed of by their friends to be deposited therein, and a suitable monument to be erected over the same, in accordance with the recommendations of his Honor the Mayor, and that the expense thereof be charged to the appropriation for incidental expenses.

Passed ; and Messrs. Cumston, Bradlee, Ordway, Coolidge, and Bean were appointed said Committee.

Sent up for concurrence.

GEORGE S. HALE, *President.*

In Board of Aldermen, July 27, 1863.

Concurred ; and Aldermen Stevens, Standish, and Denio were joined.

THOMAS C. AMORY, JR., *Chairman.*

Approved, July 28, 1863.

F. W. LINCOLN, JR., *Mayor.*

CITY OF BOSTON.

In Common Council, December 3, 1863.

ORDERED: That the Committee on Gettysburg Burials request a copy of the Hon. Edward Everett's oration, delivered at the Cemetery at Gettysburg, for publication, and be authorized to publish the same, together with such other matter relative to the subject as they may deem proper, in a pamphlet form, for the use of the City Government, the expense therefor to be charged to the appropriation for miscellaneous claims and incidental expenses.

Sent up for concurrence.

GEORGE S. HALE, *President.*

In Board of Aldermen, December 7, 1863.

Concurred.

THOMAS C. AMORY, JR., *Chairman.*

Approved, December 9, 1863.

F. W. LINCOLN, JR., *Mayor.*

CITY OF BOSTON.

In Board of Aldermen, December 28, 1863.

The Joint Special Committee appointed on the 28th of July “to proceed to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, to procure a suitable lot in the Cemetery at that place, to cause the remains of those soldiers from this city not otherwise disposed of by their friends to be deposited therein, and a suitable monument to be erected over the same, in accordance with the recommendations of his Honor the Mayor,” have attended to that duty, and respectfully present their

R E P O R T .

Immediately after their appointment, the Committee proceeded to obtain such information as they could command relative to the especial work contemplated in the order of the City Council. The frequent arrival of persons just from the battle-fields of the 1st, 2d, and 3d of July, at Gettysburg, together with the interesting recitals of the battles through the medium of the newspapers, had the effect very naturally at that time to keep the public mind in a very sensitive condition, and no little interest was manifested by the people generally in this matter. Among those who had visited the battle-fields, from whom the Committee obtained valuable information, were his Honor Mayor Fay, of Chelsea, and Mr. George Stevens, of this city.

After obtaining this and such other information as we could, it was decided that two members of the Committee, the chairman and Mr. Cumston, together with Mr. Franklin Smith, of

this city, should proceed to Gettysburg without further delay, and upon their arrival there report to his Honor the Mayor what course it was most advisable to pursue.

Before starting, however, the chairman, by direction of the Committee, consulted with his Excellency the Governor, stating to him the object for which the Committee had been appointed, and the plan adopted as a beginning. His Excellency fully approved of the course proposed, and said that although no appropriation for like purposes was at his command, still, if the work proposed was found by the Committee to be practicable, he would cheerfully co-operate with us on the part of the State, and render such assistance as might be required. He at the same time assured us that in their action the City Council did not in any manner conflict with the State authorities.

Being provided, by the kindness of Adjutant-General Schouler, with letters of introduction to Robert R. Corson, Esq., State Agent, at Philadelphia, the sub-committee started from Boston on the 31st of July, and proceeded directly to that city, where they had an interview with Mr. Corson, who gave them valuable information. He was in possession of important facts relative more especially to the wounded, their comparative numbers, and the disposition made of them. Several hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of the slightly wounded had then been removed to Philadelphia hospitals, and many to Baltimore and other places. Mr. Corson very kindly accompanied the sub-committee to some of the hospitals; but few Massachusetts soldiers were found in them, none of whom were badly wounded.

The sub-committee proceeded to Gettysburg with as little delay as possible, and on their arrival found that two of the hotels were in possession of the military authorities, and the only remaining one was crowded. Fortunately, not only for their physical comfort, but for the convenience and success of their efforts to accomplish their mission, they found entertainment at the house of Mr. Solomon Powers, formerly of New Hampshire, but for many years a citizen of the place. It is proper

here to remark that from the very commencement of the battle, on the afternoon of the 1st of July, this gentleman's house had been a hospital for wounded Union soldiers until the day of our arrival. More than twenty had been provided for (four of whom died), and all without charge to relative or friend. Owing to the heat of the season, the improper manner in which removals had been made, together with the fact that nearly all the public buildings and private dwellings were more or less occupied by sick and wounded soldiers, and for various other reasons, it had become necessary for the military commander to issue an order prohibiting any removals of the dead until after the 1st of October. The sub-committee called upon the military commander, and found that the order was imperative, and that the universal voice of the people was in favor of its strict observance. The judgment of the sub-committee was in favor of the measure, especially as it did not practically interfere with their duties.

A general hospital was then being established, to which all the wounded soldiers in the town, and at the corps hospitals, were being removed. The sub-committee visited all the hospitals, and endeavored as far as possible to ascertain the name and condition of every Massachusetts soldier there.

In prosecuting the work before them the sub-committee found it necessary to make a personal inspection of every part of the field, and finding that Mr. Powers, before referred to, a mechanic, and a truly patriotic man, had been employed to some extent in the removal of the dead, and was thoroughly conversant with the geography of the battle-field, they deemed him a most proper person to act as their guide, and render such other assistance as they required.

Upon visiting some parts of the battle-field and hospital burying-yards, they found that as a general thing the bodies of rebel soldiers were buried in trenches, in numbers varying from five to one hundred. Union soldiers, on the contrary, were invariably buried in separate graves, with that care which,

under the circumstances, surviving comrades alone know how to bestow. Of the New York and Pennsylvania soldiers very many had already been removed, and some Massachusetts soldiers had been removed. Though some graves were marked very well indeed, the sub-committee still found it necessary to mark most of them more permanently, in order that they might be identified after the 1st of October. They procured suitable head-boards and means of marking, and laborers to assist in the search for the graves of Massachusetts men, and proceeded personally upon this branch of their work. The effluvia arising from the decay of hundreds of unburied horses, together with the impure state of the air incident to the time and place, rendered the labor peculiarly unpleasant. They continued this work for some days, and then left the further search to be continued on their behalf by Mr. Powers, who they believe has been very diligent and faithful therein.

Having secured more permanent marks at the graves of our soldiers, their next business was to provide some place for the reinterment of the bodies when the proper time should arrive. And in this whole matter they found that they could not act separately and alone for the city of Boston, but that whatever was done must be in common with and for every town and city in the State.

A local cemetery of about twenty acres was already in existence near the town, and had apparently been properly taken care of previous to the battle; in fact it appeared to have received much better care than places of like character ordinarily do. This cemetery had been sadly defaced and partially destroyed in the course of the battle. This and the adjacent grounds are very peculiar in their location, commanding as they do nearly a complete view of the entire battle-ground, and to them also is attached a peculiar interest, inasmuch as they formed a part of the battle-field itself, being held by the 1st and 11th army corps, with great fortitude and bravery. The sub-committee learned that the project of a National Cemetery had been

talked of, and that adjacent lands had been purchased with this or some other object in view. It was then little more than a matter of conversation, however, and no plans were presented in such a definite form as to warrant the sub-committee in withdrawing from their preparations for executing the object for which they were appointed. Therefore before leaving the place they secured the privilege of a burying-lot for the Massachusetts soldiers on the very spot that has since been consecrated for that purpose, — intending however, at the same time, to recommend Massachusetts to join in the National Cemetery in case the project succeeded.

On the return of the sub-committee they reported our opinion of the expediency and entire practicability of a National Cemetery to his Excellency the Governor, who thereupon appointed Dr. Le Baron Russell, as an agent of the State, to act with this Committee upon the matter.

In the course of a few weeks the Committee was informed that the Governor of Pennsylvania had appointed David Wills, Esq., of Gettysburg, to act as his agent, with a view of purchasing, preparing, and maintaining a National Cemetery. We then relinquished our right to purchase land separately, and since then have acted, in co-operation with the State agent, in harmony with the other States.

The scheme presented by Mr. Wills comprised these features: The purchase of ten or twelve acres of land, to be devoted to the Cemetery; the exhumation and removal thither of all the bodies of Union soldiers not removed to other places (the Government providing coffins); the erection of a general monument, the laying out and fencing of the grounds, and the erection of a suitable building for the occupancy of the superintendent; all of which was to be done upon the common account of all the States, the expense to be shared by apportionment. Thereafter, the State of Pennsylvania was to provide for the care of the Cemetery, the title remaining in that State. The land was purchased, and the services of Mr. Wil-

liam Saunders, rural architect of the Government, were secured for the survey and laying out of the grounds. The plan submitted by him, and since carried into execution under the superintendence of Mr. Townsend, his assistant, has met universal approval.

It should here be stated, however, that before this plan was settled upon, a number of different schemes were suggested, and especially one, which was strongly urged by Mr. Wills, — who several times informed the Committee that he was supported therein by the governors of several of the States, viz : — that the burials should not be by States, but promiscuously. Correspondence on this subject was carried on for several weeks, the Committee persistently and strenuously advocating separate State lots, and they finally had the satisfaction of learning that the grounds would be laid out according to their ideas of propriety.

The preparation of the grounds was not completed, and the coffins supplied by the Government were not furnished, until about the 25th of October. A contract had been made by Mr. Wills for removing and reburying *all* the bodies of Union soldiers, it being at the option of the States, however, whether they would avail themselves of this contract, or do their own work in their own way. The Committee were aware that as to the manner of doing the work Mr. Wills had manifested a desire that it should be done as carefully, thoroughly, and at the same time as economically as possible, and had received with kindness, and acted upon, suggestions from this Committee and other interested parties. They felt, however, that they would not be fulfilling their duty unless they could personally know and report that the work, so far as it concerned Massachusetts, was done as it should be; and they accordingly delegated the Chairman, Alderman Denio, and Mr. Bradlee, to proceed to Gettysburg at once upon this business. They reached that place on the first of November, and found the work under the contract fairly commenced. This contract had been taken

at such a moderate price as to require, on the part of the contractor, the greatest economy of time, and consequently the strictest regularity in taking up the bodies according to their location, and not by States. This fact, taken in connection with the great extent of territory to be traversed, — over twenty-five square miles — and the lateness of the season, convinced the Committee that the work of taking up and reburying the Massachusetts dead could not be completed under the contract before frost would set in ; and, at the risk of incurring some additional expense, they employed Mr. Powers to do it. The result was, that in two weeks, and before the Cemetery was dedicated, the Massachusetts work was so far completed that the only additional bodies to be exhumed were one or two buried at Chambersburg, which have since been taken up and placed in the Cemetery. And the Committee do not wish to be understood as intimating that the general contract has thus far not been well and faithfully executed, when they say that the work on the Massachusetts lot is somewhat more substantial than that upon any other. The trenches in which the coffins are placed are three feet deep, two feet in width being allowed to each coffin, and at the head a stone wall, eighteen inches thick, is laid from the bottom to within six inches of the surface of the ground, making a solid foundation for the granite curbstone to be laid continuously at the head of each trench, upon which are to be lettered the names of the buried.

In regard to the fencing of the Cemetery, the monument, and the future care of the grounds, we believe the arrangements first proposed by Mr. Wills were assented to in general terms by all the States. A meeting of the agents of the States has been lately held, however, at which some material modifications of the original scheme were broached, but as with the completion of the burials our duties practically cease, and the matter is in the hands of the agent of Massachusetts, we do not feel called upon to express any opinion as to these proposed changes.

It should here be stated that his Excellency the Governor relieved Dr. Russell, at his own request, from his duties as agent, and appointed in his stead Mr. Henry Edwards, who has co-operated with this Committee, and it is presumed attended the meeting of agents referred to.

During the preparation of the grounds Mr. Wills, in behalf of the States, invited Hon. Edward Everett to deliver an oration at the consecration of the Cemetery. This invitation was accepted, and the grounds were consecrated on the 19th of November, at which time and place Alderman Standish, and Messrs. Coolidge and Ordway, of the Committee, together with other members of the City Council, were present. The fact that the President of the United States was expected to be present, together with members of his Cabinet, and the Governors and other distinguished citizens of many of the loyal States, and high military officers, in addition to the intrinsic interest of the occasion, drew a large multitude of persons together. The ceremonies were of an imposing character, and have been well and fully described in the public prints.

In conformity with an order of the City Council, we present with this report a copy of Hon. Mr. Everett's oration upon that occasion, which has been very generously granted by him for the use of members of the City Government only.

In another place the Committee offer a sketch containing some comments on the relations of the battle-field to the Cemetery, at the close of which the other ceremonies at the consecration are alluded to.

The Committee present a list of the soldiers buried in the National Cemetery, which is complete, according to their information at this time. By consulting the plan of the Cemetery appended hereto, persons interested can identify the location of the graves of friends, the numbers upon the trenches as seen upon the plan corresponding with the numbers on the list.

In conclusion, the Committee would state that the amount of expenses already incurred by them is about \$ 2,000. It is

expected that the State will refund a large portion of this, and will assume all expenses accruing in the future.

No statement has been received of the expenditures on general account, and it is probable that a year or more may elapse before the monument and fence are erected, and the grounds are put in complete order.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

HIRAM A. STEVENS,
L. MILES STANDISH,
SYLVANUS A. DENIO,
WILLIAM CUMSTON,
JOHN T. BRADLEE,
JOHN P. ORDWAY,
DAVID H. COOLIDGE,
N. J. BEAN.

THE BATTLE-FIELD OF GETTYSBURG

AND THE

NATIONAL CEMETERY.

IN making some remarks upon the aspects of the battle-field of Gettysburg in relation to the National Cemetery, we wish it understood that any allusions to the battle itself are casual and incidental, and not intended to be either historic or critical. The conflict was too near our own doors, and has been the subject of too many newspaper reports and official comments not to have its scope and even its details familiarized to all who are capable of understanding what they read. If this were not so, the oration of Mr. Everett would leave nothing to add in the way of general description. The battle of Gettysburg was a great epoch in the history of our internecine struggle, and its result was most happy for the cause of the Union. Though apparently successful in the first day's encounter, the rebels were beaten back on the two succeeding days, with great loss to themselves, and imperishable renown to the Federal Arms. Happily for the history to be written in the calm future, no less than for contemporary criticism, there is little or no diversity of relation in the accounts of the conflict. Upon the relative number of the two armies, however, two statements have been made: one that they were nearly or quite equal, and the other that the rebel army was the more numerous by fifteen or twenty thousand men. To all who have visited the field and inspected it closely, in connection with the maps and books published

upon the subject, the conviction comes most strongly that Lee must have commanded an army of superior numbers. The Federal line was the inner of two concentric half-circles — (not exact half-circles, but so best described) — and the rebels overlapped it on each flank, and had sufficient force to occupy the town of Gettysburg, and to attempt a flank movement requiring the detachment of a considerable body of troops from the main army. Be this as it may, the Federal army nobly sustained itself under disadvantages which might well have excused a different termination of the three days' fight. Disheartened by late mishaps and jaded by long forced marches, from the fatigue of which they had no time to rest before being plunged into actual conflict, their steadiness and valor in sustaining and repelling the determined attacks of the fresher rebel troops, flushed with victory and flattered by the promise of a last grand triumph, was beyond all praise; and the nation's care of the dead is but a feeble offering to the spirit of heroic patriotism exhibited on this field.

It is by many regarded as most fortunate that the advance of the rebel army was engaged by an inferior Federal force on the first day of July. Against fearful odds Reynolds and Howard contested the ground to the west of Gettysburg for seven or eight hours, until "night or Blucher" should come. Both came, but not soon enough to prevent the balance of the day's account being largely against us. By the prudence of General Howard, however, a reserve had been posted in a strong position on Cemetery Hill, immediately adjacent to and commanding the town on the east. The night and early morning brought reinforcements, which were thrown out to the right and left of the Cemetery, that having become the centre of the Federal position. But we are running into a story many times told, and better than we could expect to recite it. Enough that this Cemetery, or rather the Cemetery Hill, became the key of the successes of that day, and the day following. Though not by any means a lofty eminence, it commanded almost a complete

view of the rebel lines and the intervening ground, — which, though lower than that occupied by either army, could not properly be called a valley. The town stands upon this depressed ground, and much of the artillery firing from the hill and from Seminary Ridge was *over* the houses. Strange to say, little damage was done to the town, except where some building occupied by rebel sharp-shooters was deliberately shelled out. Upon this hill, and upon the ground where our principal artillery thundered its defiance to the enemy, and where many brave soldiers spilled their blood, has been chosen a spot for the burial of all the noble dead of that battle. Its natural features, no less than its associations, make the selection most appropriate.

Standing upon that spot, the eye stretches far away across the fields to Round Top on one hand, and Culp's and Wolf's Hills on the other. From one extremity to the other the position of our forces is still plainly marked by the breastworks extemporized by the soldiers, — long lines of firmly laid stone wall, a little earth thrown upon half-a-dozen rails, or the stronger defence of felled trees, laid longitudinally one upon another. The torn earth and the scarred or broken tree tell you of the flight and explosion of those fearful missiles, which the science of war has so nicely constructed for the purpose of mutilating or destroying human life; the battered canteen, the discarded knapsack, the broken gunstock, the bullet-pierced cap, speak louder than words, of the fierce and deadly conflict; while here under a tree, there in a ravine, or yonder behind a rock, lie the bodies of one, two, or three of the fallen, — whose graves may have been timely marked by some devoted comrade, or who may lie unrecognized till the contract undertaker removes them — tenderly, let us hope — to the company of that only too numerous class in the National Cemetery laid in the quarter assigned to the "Unknown." Unnamed they are, to the world, — but the God who permitted them to die in the holy act of defending their country from its enemies, will, let us believe, write their names clear upon the list of those to whom it shall be said: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

Certain it is that the country does well to bury decently and with high honors the remains of those who have so transcendently honored it. But however imposing may be the monument erected on this ground to their memory, it will be feeble and partial in comparison with that great memorial of their fame, which will live while the country lasts, in the hearts of all true men within our borders. Even the descendants of the men who are now rebelling against the just authority of the Government, will sooner or later come to acknowledge the deeds of those who defended and sustained the country against internal enemies, as worthy of praise and glory. This National Cemetery and others like it, in other places, will be not the least of the instrumentalities which will serve to nourish and strengthen our patriotic devotion to the Nation we constitute, and which will yet live to take its proper and unquestioned place among the Powers of the world.

The ceremonies which took place at the dedication of the Cemetery were impressive and fit. They have been fully described in the public prints, and it is unnecessary to recount them here in detail. Throngs of people from the neighboring country, and even from distant States, assembled to do honor to the memory of the country's heroes. A serene sky and delightful atmosphere were vouchsafed to the occasion, and no part of the solemn proceedings went amiss.

The procession was led by a full military escort, under Major-General Couch, and included the President, and Secretaries Seward, Blair, and Usher, several Foreign Ministers, the Governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, Virginia, and Ohio, and many other civil dignitaries, besides Major-Generals Schenck, Stahl, Stoneman, and their staffs, and numerous inferior military officers. Masonic and other civil bodies were present, bearing their respective banners; and delegations were present from nearly all the loyal States. Massachusetts was only represented by her Agent and Marshals of the Day, and the Committee of the Boston City Council, and her flag was

borne in the procession by a guard of Massachusetts soldiers. The whole was under the marshalship of Ward H. Lamon, Marshal of the District of Columbia.

The dedicatory exercises were opened by prayer, offered by Rev. Dr. Stockton, Chaplain of the House of Representatives. Appropriate music by a full band followed, and then Mr. Everett was introduced. Notwithstanding the great length of his oration, he received the profoundest attention to its close. Containing as did not only a funeral eulogy, but a history and description of the events which made that eulogy proper, it was worthy of the great temporary interest it excited, and it will take a conspicuous place in the permanent records of the time which will in the future be regarded as of the first importance.

The only remaining exercises were the "Dedicatory Remarks" of the President of the United States, and some vocal and instrumental music.

Perhaps nothing in the whole proceedings made so deep an impression on the vast assemblage, or has conveyed to the country in so concise a form the lesson of the hour, as the remarks of the President. Their simplicity and force make them worthy of a prominence among the utterances from high places. These were his words : —

"FELLOW-CITIZENS: Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that 'all men are created equal.' Now we are engaged in a great civil war testing the question whether the nation, or any nation, so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have con-

secrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here ; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they who fought here have thus far so nobly carried forward. It is rather for us here to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us ; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion for that cause which they defended with their lives ; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain ; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom ; and that the government from the people, for the people, and by the people, shall not perish from the earth."

ORATION
OF
EDWARD EVERETT,
AT THE
CONSECRATION OF THE NATIONAL CEMETERY,
NOVEMBER 19, 1863.

A D D R E S S .

STANDING beneath this serene sky, overlooking these broad fields now reposing from the labors of the waning year, the mighty Alleghanies dimly towering before us, the graves of our brethren beneath our feet, it is with hesitation that I raise my poor voice to break the eloquent silence of God and Nature. But the duty to which you have called me must be performed ; grant me, I pray you, your indulgence and sympathy.

It was appointed by law in Athens, that the obsequies of the citizens who fell in battle should be performed at the public expense, and in the most honorable manner. Their bones were carefully gathered up from the funeral pyre, where their bodies were consumed, and brought home to the city. There, for three days before the interment, they lay in state, beneath tents of honor, to receive the votive offerings of friends and relatives,—flowers, weapons, precious ornaments, painted vases, (wonders of art,

which after two thousand years adorn the museums of modern Europe,) — the last tributes of surviving affection. Ten coffins of funereal cypress received the honorable deposit, one for each of the tribes of the city, and an eleventh in memory of the unrecognized, but not therefore unhonored, dead, and of those whose remains could not be recovered. On the fourth day the mournful procession was formed; mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, led the way, and to them it was permitted, by the simplicity of ancient manners, to utter aloud their lamentations for the beloved and the lost; the male relatives and friends of the deceased followed; citizens and strangers closed the train. Thus marshalled, they moved to the place of interment in that famous Ceramicus, the most beautiful suburb of Athens, which had been adorned by Cimon, the son of Miltiades, with walks and fountains and columns; whose groves were filled with altars, shrines, and temples; whose gardens were ever green with streams from the neighboring hills, and shaded with the trees sacred to Minerva, and coeval with the foundation of the city; whose circuit enclosed

“ the olive grove of Academe,
Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird
Trilled his thick-warbled note the summer long; ”

whose pathways gleamed with the monuments of the illustrious dead, the work of the most consummate masters that ever gave life to marble. There, beneath the overarching plane trees, upon a lofty stage erected for the purpose, it was ordained by law that a funeral oration should be pronounced by some citizen of Athens, in the presence of the assembled multitude.

Such were the tokens of respect required by law to be paid at Athens to the memory of those who had fallen in the cause of their country. To those alone who fell at Marathon a peculiar honor was reserved. As the battle fought upon that immortal field was distinguished from all others in Grecian history for its influence over the fortunes of Hellas, — as it depended upon the event of that day whether Greece should live, a glory and a light to all coming time, or should expire, like the meteor of a moment; — so the honors awarded to its martyr-heroes were such as were bestowed by Athens on no other occasion. They alone of all her sons were entombed upon the spot, which they had forever rendered famous. Their names were inscribed upon ten pillars erected upon the monumental tumulus which covered their ashes (where, after six hundred years, they were read by the traveller Pausanias), and although the columns, beneath the hand of bar-

barian violence and time, have long since disappeared, the venerable mound still marks the spot where they fought and fell,—

“That battle-field, where Persia’s victim horde
First bowed beneath the brunt of Hellas’ sword.”

And shall I, fellow-citizens, who, after an interval of twenty-three centuries, a youthful pilgrim from a world unknown to Ancient Greece, have wandered over that illustrious plain, ready to put off the shoes from off my feet, as one that stands on holy ground; who have gazed with respectful emotion on the mound which still protects the remains of those who rolled back the tide of Persian invasion, and rescued the land of popular liberty, of letters, and arts, from the ruthless foe, stand unmoved over the graves of our dear brethren, who but yesterday, — on three of those all important days which decide a nation’s history, — days on whose issue it depended, whether this august republican Union, founded by some of the wisest statesmen that ever lived, cemented with the blood of some of the purest patriots that ever died, should perish or endure, — rolled back the tide of an invasion not less unprovoked, not less ruthless, than that which came to plant the dark banner of Asiatic despotism and slavery on the free soil of Greece? Heaven forbid! And could I prove

so insensible to every prompting of patriotic duty and affection, not only would you, fellow-citizens, gathered, many of you, from distant States, who have come to take part in these pious offices of gratitude,—you, respected fathers, brethren, matrons, sisters, who surround me, cry out for shame,—but the forms of brave and patriotic men who fill these honored graves would heave with indignation beneath the sod.

We have assembled, friends, fellow-citizens, at the invitation of the Executive of the great central State of Pennsylvania, seconded by the Governors of eighteen other loyal States of the Union, to pay the last tribute of respect to the brave men who, in the hard-fought battles of the 1st, 2d, and 3d days of July last, laid down their lives for the country on these hill-sides and the plains spread out before us, and whose remains have been gathered into the cemetery which we consecrate this day. As my eye ranges over the fields whose sods were so lately moistened by the blood of gallant and loyal men, I feel as never before how truly it was said of old that it is sweet and becoming to die for one's country. I feel as never before how justly, from the dawn of history to the present time, men have paid the homage of their gratitude and admiration to the memory of those who nobly sacrifice their lives, that their fellow-men may

live in safety and in honor. And if this tribute were ever due, when — to whom — could it be more justly paid, than to those whose last resting-place we this day commend to the blessing of Heaven and of men?

For consider, my friends, what would have been the consequences to the country, to yourselves, and to all you hold dear, if those who sleep beneath our feet, and their gallant comrades who survive to serve their country on other fields of danger, had failed in their duty on those memorable days. Consider what, at this moment, would be the condition of the United States, if that noble Army of the Potomac, instead of gallantly, and for the second time, beating back the tide of invasion from Maryland and Pennsylvania, had been itself driven from these well-contested heights; thrown back in confusion on Baltimore; or trampled down, discomfited, scattered to the four winds. What, under the circumstances, would not have been the fate of the Monumental City, of Harrisburg, of Philadelphia, of Washington — the capital of the Union — each and every one of which would have lain at the mercy of the enemy, accordingly as it might have pleased him, spurred only by passion, flushed with victory, and confident of continued success, to direct his course?

For this we must bear in mind: it is one of the

great lessons of the war — indeed, of every war — that it is impossible for a people without military organization, inhabiting the cities, towns, and villages of an open country, including, of course, the natural proportion of non-combatants of either sex and of every age, to withstand the inroad of a veteran army. What defence can be made by the inhabitants of villages mostly built of wood, of cities unprotected by walls, nay, by a population of men, however high-toned and resolute, whose aged parents demand their care, whose wives and children are clustering about them, against the charge of the war-horse whose neck is clothed with thunder; against flying artillery, and batteries of rifled cannon planted on every commanding eminence; against the onset of trained veterans, led by skilful chiefs? No, my friends; army must be met by army; battery by battery; squadron by squadron; and the shock of organized thousands must be encountered by the firm breasts and valiant arms of other thousands, as well organized and as skilfully led. It is no reproach, therefore, to the unarmed population of the country, to say that we owe it to the brave men who sleep in their beds of honor before us, and their gallant surviving associates, not merely that your fertile fields, my friends of Pennsylvania and Maryland, were redeemed from the presence of the invader, but that

your beautiful capitals were not given up to threatened plunder, perhaps laid in ashes, Washington seized by the enemy, and a blow struck at the heart of the nation.

Who that hears me has forgotten the thrill of joy that ran through the country on the 4th of July,—auspicious day for the glorious tidings, and rendered still more so by the simultaneous fall of Vicksburg,—when the telegraph flashed through the land the assurance from the President of the United States, that the Army of the Potomac, under General Meade, had again smitten the invader? Sure I am that, with the ascriptions of praise that rose to Heaven from twenty millions of freemen; with the acknowledgments that breathed from patriotic lips throughout the length and breadth of America, to the surviving officers and men who had rendered the country this inestimable service, there beat in every loyal bosom a throb of tender and sorrowful gratitude to the martyrs who had fallen on the sternly-contested field. Let a nation's fervent thanks make some amends for the toils and sufferings of those who survive. Would that the heart-felt tribute could penetrate these honored graves!

In order that we may comprehend, to their full extent, our obligations to the martyrs and surviving heroes of the Army of the Potomac, let us contem-

plate, for a few moments, my friends, the train of events, which culminated in the battles of the 1st, 2d, and 3d of July. Of this stupendous rebellion, planned, as its originators boast, more than thirty years ago, matured and prepared for during an entire generation, finally commenced because, for the first time since the adoption of the Constitution, an election of President had been effected without the votes of the South, (which retained however the control of the two other branches of the Government,) the occupation of the national capital, with the seizure of the public archives and of the treaties with foreign powers was an essential feature. This was in substance, within my personal knowledge, admitted, in the winter of 1860-61, by one of the most influential leaders of the rebellion, and it was fondly thought that this object could be effected by a bold and sudden movement on the 4th of March, 1861. There is abundant proof also that a darker project was contemplated, if not by the responsible chiefs of the rebellion, yet by nameless ruffians, willing to play a subsidiary and murderous part in the treasonable drama. It was accordingly maintained by the rebel emissaries in England, in the circles to which they found access, that the new American minister ought not, when he arrived, to be received as the envoy of the United States, inasmuch as before that time Wash-

ington would be captured, and the capital of the nation and the archives and muniments of the Government would be in the possession of the Confederates. In full accordance also with this threat, it was declared by the rebel Secretary of War, at Montgomery, in the presence of his chief and of his colleagues, and of five thousand hearers, while the tidings of the assault on Sumter were travelling over the wires on that fatal 12th of April, 1861, that before the end of May "the flag which now flaunted the breeze (as he expressed it) would float over the dome of the capitol at Washington."

At the time this threat was made, the rebellion was confined to the cotton-growing States, and it was well understood by them, that the only hope of drawing any of the other slave-holding States into the conspiracy, was by bringing about a conflict of arms, and "firing the heart of the South," by the effusion of blood. This was declared by the Charleston press to be the object for which Sumter was to be assaulted, and the emissaries sent from Richmond, to urge on the unhallowed work, gave the promise that with the first drop of blood that should be shed, Virginia would place herself by the side of South Carolina.

In pursuance of this original plan of the leaders of the rebellion, the capture of Washington has been

continually had in view, not merely for the sake of its public buildings, as the capital of the Confederacy, but as the necessary preliminary to the absorption of the Border States, and for the moral effect in the eyes of Europe of possessing the metropolis of the Union.

I allude to these facts, not perhaps enough borne in mind, as a sufficient refutation of the pretence on the part of the rebels, that the war is one of self-defence, waged for the right of self-government. It is in reality a war originally levied by ambitious men in the cotton-growing States, for the purpose of drawing the slave-holding Border States into the vortex of the conspiracy, first by sympathy, which in the case of Southeastern Virginia, North Carolina, part of Tennessee and Arkansas, succeeded; and then by force, and for the purpose of subjugating Western Virginia, Kentucky, Eastern Tennessee, Missouri, and Maryland; and it is a most extraordinary fact, considering the clamors of the rebel chiefs on the subject of Invasion, that not a soldier of the United States has entered the States last named, except to defend their union-loving inhabitants from the armies and guerillas of the rebels.

In conformity with these designs on the city of Washington, and notwithstanding the disastrous results of the invasion of 1862, it was determined by the

rebel government last summer to resume the offensive in that direction. Unable to force the passage of the Rappahannock where General Hooker, notwithstanding the reverse at Chancellorsville in May, was strongly posted, the Confederate general resorted to strategy. He had two objects in view. The first was by a rapid movement northward, and by manœuvring with a portion of his army on the east side of Blue Ridge, to tempt Hooker from his base of operations, thus leading him to uncover the approaches to Washington, to throw it open to a raid by Stuart's cavalry, and enable Lee himself to cross the Potomac in the neighborhood of Poolesville, and thus fall upon the capital. This plan of operations was wholly frustrated. The design of the rebel general was promptly discovered by General Hooker, and moving himself with great rapidity from Fredericksburg, he preserved unbroken the inner line, and stationed the various corps of his army at all the points protecting the approach to Washington, from Centreville, up to Leesburg. From this vantage-ground the rebel general in vain attempted to draw him. In the mean time, by the vigorous operations of Pleasanton's cavalry, the cavalry of Stuart, though greatly superior in numbers, was so crippled as to be disabled from performing the part assigned it in the campaign. In this manner General Lee's first object, viz: the

defeat of Hooker's army on the south of the Potomac and a direct march on Washington, was baffled.

The second part of the Confederate plan, and which is supposed to have been undertaken in opposition to the views of General Lee, was to turn the demonstration northward into a real invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania, in the hope that, in this way, General Hooker would be drawn to a distance from the capital; that some opportunity would occur of taking him at disadvantage, and, after defeating his army, of making a descent upon Baltimore and Washington. This part of General Lee's plan, which was substantially the repetition of that of 1862, was not less signally defeated, with what honor to the arms of the Union, the heights on which we are this day assembled will forever attest.

Much time had been uselessly consumed by the rebel general in his unavailing attempts to outmanœuvre General Hooker. Although General Lee broke up from Fredericksburg on the 3d of June, it was not till the 24th that the main body of his army entered Maryland, and instead of crossing the Potomac, as he had intended, east of the Blue Ridge, he was compelled to do it at Shepherdstown and Williamsport, thus materially deranging his entire plan of campaign north of the river. Stuart, who had been sent with his cavalry to the east of the

Blue Ridge, to guard the passes of the mountains, to mask the movements of Lee, and to harass the Union general in crossing the river, having been very severely handled by Pleasanton at Beverly Ford, Aldie, and Upperville, instead of being able to retard General Hooker's advance, was driven himself away from his connection with the army of Lee, and cut off for a fortnight from all communication with it; a circumstance to which General Lee, in his report, alludes more than once, with evident displeasure. Let us now rapidly glance at the incidents of the eventful campaign.

A detachment from Ewell's corps under Jenkins had penetrated on the 15th of June as far as Chambersburg. This movement was intended at first merely as a demonstration, and as a marauding expedition for supplies. It had, however, the salutary effect of alarming the country, and vigorous preparations were made, not only by the General Government, but here in Pennsylvania and in the sister States, to repel the inroad. After two days passed at Chambersburg, Jenkins, anxious for his communications with Ewell, fell back with his plunder to Hagerstown. Here he remained for several days, and having swept the recesses of Cumberland valley, came down upon the eastern flank of the South Mountain, and pushed his marauding parties as far

as Waynesboro'. On the 22d the remainder of Ewell's corps crossed the river and moved up the valley. They were followed on the 24th by Longstreet and Hill, who crossed at Williamsport and Shepherdstown, and pushing up the valley encamped at Chambersburg on the 27th. In this way, the whole rebel army, estimated at 90,000 infantry, upwards of 10,000 cavalry and 4,000 or 5,000 artillery, making a total of 105,000 of all arms, was concentrated in Pennsylvania.

Up to this time no report of Hooker's movements had been received by General Lee, who having been deprived of his cavalry had no means of obtaining information. Rightly judging, however, that no time would be lost by the Union army in the pursuit, in order to detain it on the eastern side of the mountains in Maryland and Pennsylvania, and thus preserve his communications by the way of Williamsport, he had, before his own arrival at Chambersburg, directed Ewell to send detachments from his corps to Carlisle and York. The latter detachment under Early passed through this place on the 26th of June. You need not, fellow-citizens of Gettysburg, that I should recall to you those moments of alarm and distress, precursors as they were of the more trying scenes which were so soon to follow.

As soon as General Hooker perceived that the

advance of the Confederates into the Cumberland valley was not a mere feint to draw him away from Washington, he moved rapidly in pursuit. Attempts, as we have seen, were made to harass and retard his passage across the Potomac. These attempts were not only altogether unsuccessful, but so unskilfully made, as to place the entire Federal army between the cavalry of Stuart and the army of Lee. While the latter was massed in the Cumberland valley, Stuart was east of the mountains, with Hooker's army between, and Gregg's cavalry in close pursuit. Stuart was accordingly compelled to force a march northward, which was destitute of all strategical character, and which deprived his chief of all means of obtaining intelligence.

No time, as we have seen, had been lost by General Hooker in the pursuit of Lee. The day after the rebel army entered Maryland, the Union army crossed the Potomac at Edwards' Ferry, and by the 28th lay between Harper's Ferry and Frederick. The force of the enemy on that day was partly at Chambersburg, and partly moving on the Cashtown road, in the direction of Gettysburg, while the detachments from Ewell's corps, of which mention has been made, had reached the Susquehannah, opposite Harrisburg and Columbia. That a great battle must soon be fought, no one could doubt, but in the apparent and perhaps

real absence of plan on the part of Lee, it was impossible to foretell the precise scene of the encounter. Wherever fought, consequences the most momentous hung upon the result.

In this critical and anxious state of affairs, General Hooker was relieved, and General Meade was summoned to the chief command of the army, and it appears to my unmilitary judgment to reflect the highest credit upon him, upon his predecessor, and upon the corps commanders of the Army of the Potomac, that a change could take place in the chief command of so large a force on the eve of a general battle,—the various corps necessarily moving on lines somewhat divergent and all in ignorance of the enemy's intended point of concentration,—and that not an hour's hesitation should ensue in the advance of any portion of the entire army.

Having assumed the chief command on the 28th, General Meade directed his left wing under Reynolds upon Emmettsburg, and his right upon New Windsor, leaving General French with 11,000 men to protect the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and convoy the public property from Harper's Ferry to Washington. Buford's cavalry was then at this place, and Kilpatrick's at Hanover, where he encountered and defeated the rear of Stuart's cavalry, who was roving the country in search of the main army of Lee. On the rebel

side, Hill had reached Fayetteville on the Cashtown road on the 28th, and was followed on the same road by Longstreet on the 29th. The eastern side of the mountain as seen from Gettysburg, was lighted up at night by the camp-fires of the enemy's advance, and the country swarmed with his foraging parties. It was now too evident to be questioned, that the thunder-cloud, so long gathering blackness, would soon burst on some part of the devoted vicinity of Gettysburg.

The 30th of June was a day of important preparation. At 11.30 in the morning General Buford passed through Gettysburg, upon a reconnoissance in force, with his cavalry, upon the Chambersburg road. The information obtained by him was immediately communicated to General Reynolds, who was in consequence directed to occupy Gettysburg. That gallant officer accordingly, with the First Corps, marched from Emmetsburg to within six or seven miles of this place, and encamped on the right bank of Marsh's Creek. Our right wing, meantime, was moved to Manchester. On the same day the corps of Hill and Longstreet were pushed still further forward on the Chambersburg road, and distributed in the vicinity of Marsh's Creek, while a reconnoissance was made by the Confederate General Pettigrew up to a very short distance from this place. Thus at nightfall, on the 30th of

June, the greater part of the rebel force was concentrated in the immediate vicinity of two corps of the Union army, the former refreshed by two days passed in comparative repose, and deliberate preparation for the encounter; the latter separated by a march of one or two days from their supporting corps, and doubtful at what precise point they were to expect an attack.

And now the momentous day, a day to be forever remembered in the annals of the country, arrived. Early in the morning on the 1st of July the conflict began. I need not say that it would be impossible for me to comprise, within the limits of the hour, such a narrative as would do anything like full justice to the all-important events of these three great days, or to the merit of the brave officers and men of every rank, of every arm of the service, and of every loyal State, who bore their part in the tremendous struggle; — alike those who nobly sacrificed their lives for their country, and those who survive, many of them scarred with honorable wounds, — the objects of our admiration and gratitude. The astonishingly minute, accurate, and graphic accounts contained in the journals of the day, prepared from personal observation by reporters who witnessed the scenes and often shared the perils which they describe, and the highly valuable “Notes” of Professor Jacobs, of the University in this

place, to which I am greatly indebted, will abundantly supply the deficiency of my necessarily too condensed statement.*

* Besides the sources of information mentioned in the text, I have been kindly favored with a memorandum of the operations of the three days, drawn up for me by direction of Major-General Meade (anticipating the promulgation of his official report), by one of his aides, — Colonel Theodore Lyman, — from whom also I have received other important communications relative to the campaign. I have received very valuable documents relative to the battle from Major-General Halleck, Commander-in-chief of the army, and have been much assisted in drawing up the sketch of the campaign, by the detailed reports, kindly transmitted to me in manuscript from the Adjutant-General's office, of the movements of every corps of the army, for each day, after the breaking up from Fredericksburg commenced. I have derived much assistance from Colonel John B. Bachelder's oral explanations of his beautiful and minute drawing (about to be engraved) of the field of the three days' struggle. With the information derived from these sources, I have compared the statements in General Lee's official report of the campaign, dated 31st of July, 1863; a well-written article, purporting to be an account of the three days' battle, in the "Richmond Enquirer" of the 22d of July; and the article on "The Battle of Gettysburg and the Campaign of Pennsylvania," by an officer, apparently a colonel, in the British army, in "Blackwood's Magazine" for September. The value of the information contained in this last essay may be seen by comparing the remark under date 27th of June, that "private property is to be rigidly protected," with the statement in the next sentence but one, that "all the cattle and farm horses having been seized by Ewell, farm labor had come to a complete stand-still." He also,

General Reynolds, on arriving at Gettysburg in the morning of the 1st, found Buford with his cavalry warmly engaged with the enemy, whom he held most gallantly in check. Hastening himself to the front, General Reynolds directed his men to be moved over the fields from the Emmettsburg road, in front of McMillan's and Dr. Schmucker's, under cover of the Seminary Ridge, and, without a moment's hesitation, attacked the enemy, at the same time sending orders to the Eleventh Corps (General

under date of 4th July, speaks of Lee's retreat being incumbered by "Ewell's *immense train of plunder*." This writer informs us that on the evening of the 4th of July, he heard "reports coming in from the different *generals* that the enemy (Meade's army) was *retiring*, and had been doing so all day long." At a consultation at head-quarters on the 6th, between Generals Lee, Longstreet, Hill, and Wilcox, this writer was told by some one, whose name he prudently leaves in blank, that the army had no intention at present of retreating for good, and that some of the enemy's despatches had been intercepted in which the following words occur: "The noble but unfortunate Army of the Potomac has again been obliged to retreat before superior numbers"! He does not appear to be aware that, in recording these wretched expedients, resorted to in order to keep up the spirits of Lee's army, he furnishes the most complete refutation of his own account of its good condition. I much regret that General Meade's official report was not published in season to enable me to take full advantage of it in preparing the brief sketch of the battles of the three days contained in this address. It reached me but the morning before these pages were first sent to the press.

Howard's) to advance as promptly as possible. General Reynolds immediately found himself engaged with a force which greatly outnumbered his own, and had scarcely made his dispositions for the action when he fell, mortally wounded, at the head of his advance. The command of the First Corps devolved on General Doubleday, and that of the field on General Howard, who arrived at 11.30 with Schurz and Barlow's divisions of the Eleventh Corps, the latter of whom received a severe wound. Thus strengthened, the advantage of the battle was for sometime on our side. The attacks of the rebels were vigorously repulsed by Wadsworth's division of the First Corps, and a large number of prisoners, including General Archer, were captured. At length, however, the continued reinforcement of the Confederates from the main body close at hand, and by the divisions of Rodes and Early, coming down by separate lines from Heidlersberg, and taking post on our extreme right, turned the fortunes of the day. Our army, after contesting the ground for five hours, was obliged to yield to the enemy, whose force outnumbered them two to one, and about the middle of the afternoon General Howard deemed it prudent to withdraw the two corps to the heights where we are now assembled. The greater part of the First Corps passed through the outskirts of the town, and

reached the hill without serious loss or molestation. The Eleventh Corps and portions of the First, not being aware that the enemy had already entered the town from the north, attempted to force their way through Washington and Baltimore Streets, which, in the crowd and confusion of the scene, they did with a heavy loss in prisoners.

General Howard was not unprepared for this turn in the fortunes of the day. In the course of the morning he had caused Cemetery Hill to be occupied by General Steinwehr, with the second division of the Eleventh Corps. About the time of the withdrawal of our troops to the hill, General Hancock arrived, having been sent by General Meade, on hearing the death of Reynolds, to assume the command of the field till he himself could reach the front. In conjunction with General Howard, General Hancock immediately proceeded to post troops and to repel an attack on our right flank. This attack was feebly made and promptly repulsed. At nightfall our troops on the hill, who had so gallantly sustained themselves during the toil and peril of the day, were cheered by the arrival of General Slocum with the Twelfth Corps, and of General Sickles with a part of the Third.

Such was the fortune of the first day, commencing with decided success to our arms, followed by a

check, but ending in the occupation of this all-important position. To you, fellow-citizens of Gettysburg, I need not attempt to portray the anxieties of the ensuing night. Witnessing as you had done with sorrow the withdrawal of our army through your streets, with a considerable loss of prisoners; mourning as you did over the brave men who had fallen; shocked with the wide-spread desolation around you, of which the wanton burning of the Harman house had given the signal, ignorant of the near approach of General Meade, you passed the weary hours of the night in painful expectation.

Long before the dawn of the 2d of July, the new commander-in-chief had arrived at the front. Having received intelligence of the events in progress, and informed by the reports of Generals Hancock and Howard of the favorable character of the position, he determined to give battle to the enemy at this point. He accordingly directed the remaining corps of the army to concentrate at Gettysburg with all possible expedition, and breaking up his headquarters at Taneytown at ten o'clock in the afternoon, he arrived on the field at one o'clock in the morning of the 2d of July. Few were the moments given to sleep during the rapid watches of that brief midsummer's night, by officers or men, though half of our troops were exhausted by the conflict of the

day, and the residue wearied by the forced marches which had brought them to the rescue. The full moon, veiled by thin clouds, shone down that night on a strangely unwonted scene;—the silence of the graveyard was broken by the heavy tramp of armed men; by the neigh of the war-horse, the harsh rattle of the wheels of artillery hurrying to their stations, the voice of the bugle, the roll of the drum, and all the indescribable tumult of preparation. The various corps of the army, as they arrived, were moved to their positions, on the spot where we are assembled, and the ridges that extend southeast and southwest; batteries were planted and breastworks thrown up. The Second and Fifth Corps, with the rest of the Third, had reached the ground by seven o'clock in the morning, but it was not till two o'clock in the afternoon that Sedgwick arrived with the Sixth Corps. He had marched thirty-four miles since nine o'clock of the evening before. It was only on his arrival that the Union army approached an equality of numbers with that of the rebels, posted upon the opposite and parallel ridge, distant from a mile to a mile and a half, overlapping our position on either wing, and probably exceeding by ten thousand the army of General Meade.

And here I cannot but remark on the providential inaction of the rebel army. Had the contest been

renewed by it at daylight on the 2d of July, with the First and Eleventh Corps exhausted by the battle and the retreat; the Third and Twelfth weary from their forced march; and the Second, Fifth, and Sixth not yet arrived, nothing but a miracle could have saved the army from destruction. Instead of this, the day dawned, the sun rose, the cool hours of the morning passed, the forenoon wore away, without the slightest aggressive movement on the part of the enemy. Thus time was given for half of our forces to arrive and take their place in the lines, while the rest of the army enjoyed a much needed half-day's repose.

At length, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, the work of death began. A signal gun from the hostile batteries was followed by a tremendous cannonade along the rebel lines, and this by a heavy advance of infantry, brigade after brigade, commencing on the enemy's right against the left of our army, and so onward to the left centre. A forward movement of General Sickles, to gain a commanding position from which to repel the rebel attack, drew upon him a destructive fire from the enemy's batteries, and a furious assault from Longstreet's and Hill's advancing troops. After a brave resistance on the part of his corps, he was forced back, himself falling severely wounded. This was the

critical moment of the second day ; but the Fifth and a part of the Sixth Corps, with portions of the First and Second, were promptly brought to the support of the Third ; the struggle was fierce and murderous, but by sunset our success was decisive, and the enemy was driven back in confusion. The most important service was rendered toward the close of the day, in the memorable advance between Round Top and Little Round Top, by General Crawford's division of the Fifth Corps, consisting of two brigades of the Pennsylvania Reserves, of which one company was from this town and neighborhood. The rebel force was driven back in this encounter, with great loss in killed and prisoners. At eight o'clock in the evening a desperate attempt was made by the enemy to storm the position of the Eleventh Corps on Cemetery Hill ; but here too, after a terrible conflict, he was repulsed with immense loss. Ewell, on our extreme right, which had been weakened by the withdrawal of the troops, sent over to support our left, had succeeded in gaining a foothold within a portion of our lines, near Spangler's Spring. This was the only advantage obtained by the rebels to compensate them for the disasters of the day, and of this, as we shall see, they were soon deprived.

Such was the result of the second act of this eventful drama ; a day hard fought, and at one

moment anxious, but with the exception of the slight reverse just named, crowned with dearly-earned, but uniform success to our arms, auspicious of a glorious termination of the final struggle. On these good omens the night fell.

In the course of the night General Geary returned to his position on the right, from which he had hastened the day before to strengthen the Third Corps. He immediately engaged the enemy, whom, after a sharp and decisive action, he drove out of our lines, recovering the ground which had been lost on the preceding day. A spirited contest was kept up all the morning on this part of the line, but General Geary, reinforced by Wheaton's brigade of the Sixth Corps, maintained his position, and inflicted very severe losses on the enemy.

Such was the cheering commencement of the third day's work, and with it ended all serious attempts of the enemy on our right. As on the preceding day, his efforts were now mainly directed against our left centre and left wing. From eleven till half-past one o'clock all was still; a solemn pause of preparation, as if both armies were nerving themselves for the supreme effort. At length the awful silence, more terrible than the wildest tumult of battle, was broken by the roar of two hundred and fifty pieces of artillery from the opposite ridges joining in a cannon-

ade of unsurpassed violence,—the rebel batteries along two thirds of their line pouring their fire upon Cemetery Hill and the centre and left wings of our army. Having attempted in this way for two hours, but without success, to shake the steadiness of our lines, the enemy rallied his forces for a last grand assault. The attack was principally directed against the position of our Second Corps. Successive lines of rebel infantry moved forward with equal spirit and steadiness, from their cover on the wooded crest of Seminary Ridge, crossing the intervening plain, supported right and left by their choicest brigades, and charged furiously up to our batteries. Our own brave troops of the Second Corps, supported by Doubleday's division and Stannard's brigade of the First, received the shock with firmness, the ground on both sides was long and fiercely contested and covered with the killed and the wounded, the tide of battle flowed and ebbed across the plain, till after "a determined and gallant struggle," as it is pronounced by General Lee, the rebel advance, consisting of two thirds of Hill's corps and the whole of Longstreet's, including Pickett's division, the *élite* of his corps, which had not yet been under fire, and was now depended upon to decide the fortune of this last eventful day, was driven back with prodigious slaughter, discomfited and broken. While these events were in progress

at our left centre, the enemy was driven, with a considerable loss of prisoners, from a strong position on our extreme left, from which he was annoying our force on "Little Round Top." In the terrific assault on our centre, Generals Hancock and Gibbon were wounded. In the rebel army Armistead, Kemper, Pettigrew, and Trimble were wounded,—the first named mortally, the latter also made prisoner,—while General Garnett was killed, and thirty-five hundred officers and men made prisoners.

These were the expiring agonies of the three days' conflict, and with them the battle ceased. It was fought, by the Union army, with courage and skill, from the first cavalry skirmish on Wednesday morning to the fearful rout of the enemy on Friday afternoon, by every arm and every rank of the service; by officers and men; by cavalry, artillery, and infantry. The superiority of numbers was on the side of the rebel army. If the Union force had the advantage of a strong position, the Confederates had that of choosing time and place, the *présti*ge of former victories over the Army of the Potomac, and of the success of the first day. Victory does not always fall to the lot of those who deserve it; but that so decisive a triumph under circumstances like these, was gained by our troops, I am inclined to ascribe, under Providence, to the spirit of exalted

patriotism that animated them, and a consciousness that they were fighting in a righteous cause.

All hope of defeating our army, and securing what General Lee calls "the valuable results" of such an achievement, having vanished, he thought only of rescuing from destruction the remains of his shattered forces. In killed, wounded, and missing he had, as far as can be ascertained, suffered a loss of about 37,000 men, rather more than a third of the army which he is supposed to have brought with him into Pennsylvania. Perceiving that his only safety was in rapid retreat, he commenced withdrawing his troops at daybreak on the 4th, throwing up field-works in front of our left, which, assuming the appearance of a new position, were intended probably to protect the rear of his army in their retreat. That day—sad celebration of the 4th of July for an army of Americans—was passed by him in hurrying off his trains. The main army was in full retreat on the Cashtown and Fairfield roads at nightfall, and moved with such precipitation, that, short as the nights were, by daylight the following morning, notwithstanding a heavy rain, the rear guard had left its position. The struggle of the two last days resembled in many respects the battle of Waterloo, and if in the evening of the third day General Meade, like the Duke of Wellington, had had the

assistance of a powerful auxiliary army to take up the pursuit, the route of the rebels would have been as complete as that of Napoleon.

Owing to the circumstance above named the intentions of the enemy were not apparent on the 4th. The moment his retreat was discovered, the following morning, he was pursued by our cavalry on the Cashtown road and in the Emmettsburg and Monterey passes, and by Sedgwick's corps on the Fairfield road. His rear guard was briskly attacked at Fairfield; a great number of wagons and ambulances were captured in the passes of the mountains; the country swarmed with his stragglers, and his wounded were literally emptied from the vehicles containing them, into the farm-houses on the road. General Lee, in his report, makes repeated mention of the Union prisoners whom he conveyed into Virginia, somewhat overstating their number. He states also that "such of his wounded as were in a condition to be removed," were forwarded to Williamsport. He does not mention that the number of his wounded *not* removed, and left to the Christian care of the victors, was 7,540 — not one of whom failed of any attention which it was possible, under the circumstances of the case, to afford them; not one of whom certainly has been put upon Libby-prison fare, — lingering death by starvation. Heaven for-

bid, however, that we should claim any merit for the exercise of common humanity.

Under the protection of the mountain ridge, whose narrow passes are easily held even by a retreating army, General Lee reached Williamsport in safety, and took up a strong position opposite to that place. General Meade, with the main army, necessarily pursued by a flank movement through Middletown, Turner's Pass having been secured by General French. Passing through the South Mountain the Union army came up with that of the rebels on the 12th, and found it securely posted on the heights of Marsh's Run. The position was reconnoitred, and preparations made for an attack on the 13th. The depth of the river, swollen by the recent rains, authorized the expectation that the enemy would be brought to a general engagement the following day. An advance was accordingly made by General Meade on the morning of the 14th; but it was soon found that the rebels had escaped in the night, with such haste, that Ewell's corps forded the river where the water was breast high. The cavalry, which had rendered the most important services during the three days, and in harassing the enemy's retreat, was now sent in pursuit, and captured two guns and a large number of prisoners. In an action which took place at Falling Waters, General Pettigrew was

mortally wounded. General Meade, in further pursuit of the enemy, crossed the Potomac at Berlin. Thus again covering the approaches to Washington, he compelled the enemy to pass the Blue Ridge at one of the upper gaps, and in about six weeks from the commencement of the campaign General Lee found himself again on the south side of the Rappahannock, with a loss of about a third of his army.

Such, most inadequately recounted, is the history of the ever-memorable three days, and of the events immediately preceding and following. It has been pretended, in order to diminish the magnitude of this disaster to the rebel cause, that it was merely the repulse of an attack on a strongly-defended position. The tremendous losses on both sides are a sufficient answer to this misrepresentation, and attest the courage and obstinacy with which the three days' battle was waged. Few of the great conflicts of modern times have cost victors and vanquished so great a sacrifice. On the Union side there fell in the whole campaign of generals killed, Reynolds, Weed, and Zook; and wounded, Generals Barlow, Barnes, Butterfield, Doubleday, Gibbon, Graham, Hancock, Sickles, and Warren; while of officers below the rank of general and men there were 2,834 killed, 13,709 wounded, and 6,643 missing. On the Confederate side there were killed on

the field, or mortally wounded, Generals Armistead, Barksdale, Garnett, Pender, Pettigrew, and Semmes; and wounded, Heth, Hood, Johnson, Kemper, Kimball, and Trimble. Of officers below the rank of general and men, there were taken prisoners, including the wounded, 13,621—an amount ascertained officially. Of the wounded in a condition to be removed, of the killed, and the missing, the enemy has made no return. They are estimated from the best data, which the nature of the case admits, at 23,000. General Meade also captured three cannons and forty-one standards.

I must leave to others, who can do it from personal observation, to describe the mournful spectacle presented by these hillsides and plains at the close of the terrible conflict. It was a saying of the Duke of Wellington that, next to a defeat, the saddest thing is a victory. The horrors of the battle-field, after the contest is over,—the sights and sounds of woe,—let me throw a pall over the scene, which no words can adequately depict to those who have not witnessed it; on which no one who has witnessed it, and who has a heart in his bosom, can bear to dwell. One drop of balm alone,—one drop of heavenly, life-giving balm,—mingles in this bitter cup of misery. Scarcely has the cannon ceased to roar, when the brethren and sisters of Christian

benevolence, ministers of compassion, angels of pity, hasten to the field and the hospital, to moisten the parched tongue, to bind the ghastly wounds, to soothe the parting agonies alike of friend and foe, and to catch the last-whispered messages of love from dying lips. "Carry this miniature back to my dear wife, but do not take it from my bosom till I am gone." "Tell my little sister not to grieve for me, I am willing to die for my country." "Oh, that my mother were here!" When, since Aaron stood between the living and the dead, was there ever so gracious a ministry as this? It has been said that it is characteristic of Americans to treat women with a deference not paid to them in any other country. I will not undertake to say whether this is so, but I will say that since this terrible war has been waged, the women of the loyal States, if never before, have entitled themselves to our highest admiration and gratitude; alike those who at home, often with fingers unused to the toil, often bowed beneath their own domestic cares, have performed an amount of daily labor not less than hers who works for her daily bread, and those who, in the hospital and the tents of the Sanitary and Christian Commission, have rendered services which millions could not buy. Happily, the labor and the service are their own reward. Thousands of matrons and thousands of maidens have expe-

rienced a delight in these homely toils and services, compared with which the pleasures of the ballroom and the opera-house are tame and unsatisfactory. This on earth is reward enough, but a richer is in store for them. Yes, brothers, sisters of charity, while you bind up the wounds of the poor sufferers, — the humblest perhaps that have shed their blood for the country, — forget not who it is that will hereafter say to you, “Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my BRETHREN, ye have done it unto me.”

And now friends, fellow-citizens, as we stand before these honored graves, the momentous question presents itself, which of the two parties to the war is responsible for all this suffering, — for this dreadful sacrifice of life, — the lawful and constitutional government of the United States, or the ambitious men who have rebelled against it? I say “rebelled” against it, although Earl Russell, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in his recent temperate and conciliatory speech in Scotland, seems to intimate that no prejudice ought to attach to that word, inasmuch as our English forefathers rebelled against Charles I. and James II., and our American fathers rebelled against George III. These certainly are venerable precedents, but they prove only that it is just and proper to rebel

against oppressive governments. They do not prove that it was just and proper for the son of James II. to rebel against George I., or his grandson Charles Edward to rebel against George II.; nor, as it seems to me, ought these dynastic struggles, little better than family quarrels, to be compared with this monstrous conspiracy against the American Union. These precedents do not prove that it was just and proper for the "disappointed great men" of the cotton-growing States to rebel against "the most beneficent government of which history gives us any account," as the Vice-President of the Confederacy, in November, 1860, charged them with doing. They do not create a presumption even in favor of the disloyal slaveholders of the South, who, living under a government of which Mr. Jefferson Davis, in the session of 1860-61 said, that it was "the best government ever instituted by man, unexceptionably administered, and under which the people have been prosperous beyond comparison with any other people whose career has been recorded in history," rebelled against it, because their aspiring politicians, himself among the rest, were in danger of losing their monopoly of its offices. What would have been thought by an impartial posterity of the American rebellion against George III., if the colonists had at all times been more than equally represented in Parliament, and

James Otis, and Patrick Henry, and Washington, and Franklin, and the Adamses, and Hancock, and Jefferson, and men of their stamp, had for two generations enjoyed the confidence of the sovereign, and administered the government of the Empire? What would have been thought of the rebellion against Charles I., if Cromwell, and the men of his school had been the responsible advisers of that prince from his accession to the throne, and then, on account of a partial change in the ministry, brought his head to the block, and involved the country in a desolating war, in order to establish a new government south of the Trent? What would have been thought of the whigs of 1688, if they had themselves composed the cabinet of James II., and had been the advisers of the measures, and the promoters of the policy which drove him into exile? The puritans of 1640 and the whigs of 1688 rebelled against arbitrary power in order to establish constitutional liberty. If they had risen against Charles and James because those monarchs favored equal rights, and in order themselves, "for the first time in the history of the world," to establish an oligarchy "founded on the corner-stone of slavery," they would truly have furnished a precedent for the rebels of the South, but their cause would not have been sustained by the eloquence of Pym or of Somers, nor sealed with the blood of Hampden or Russell.

I call the war which the Confederates are waging against the Union a "Rebellion," because it is one, and in grave matters it is best to call things by their right names. I speak of it as a crime, because the Constitution of the United States so regards it, and puts "rebellion" on a par with "invasion." The Constitution and law not only of England, but of every civilized country, regard them in the same light; or rather they consider the rebel in arms as far worse than the alien enemy. To levy war against the United States is the constitutional definition of treason, and that crime is, by every civilized government, regarded as the highest which citizen or subject can commit. Not content with the sanctions of human justice, of all the crimes against the law of the land it is singled out for the denunciations of religion. The litanies of every church in Christendom, as far as I am aware, from the metropolitan cathedrals of Europe to the humblest missionary chapel in the islands of the sea, concur with the Church of England in imploring the Sovereign of the universe, by the most awful adjurations which the heart of man can conceive or his tongue utter, to deliver us from "sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion." And reason good,—for while a rebellion against tyranny; a rebellion designed, after prostrating arbitrary power, to establish free government

on the basis of justice and truth, is an enterprise on which good men and angels may look with complacency; an unprovoked rebellion of ambitious men against a beneficent government, for the purpose — the avowed purpose — of establishing, extending, and perpetuating any form of injustice and wrong, is an imitation on earth of that first foul revolt of “the Infernal Serpent,” against which the Supreme Majesty of Heaven sent forth the armed myriads of his angels, and clothed the right arm of his Son with the three-bolted thunders of Omnipotence.

Lord Bacon, “in the true marshalling of the sovereign degrees of honor,” assigns the first place to “the *Conditores Imperiorum*, founders of States and Commonwealths,” and truly to build up from the discordant elements of our nature; the passions, the interests, and the opinions of the individual man; the rivalries of family, clan, and tribe; the influences of climate and geographical position; the accidents of peace and war accumulated for ages, — to build up from these oftentimes warring elements, a well-compacted, prosperous, and powerful State, if it were to be accomplished by one effort, or in one generation, would require a more than mortal skill. To contribute in some notable degree to this the greatest work of man, by wise and patriotic counsel in peace, and loyal heroism in war, is as high as human merit can

well rise, and far more than to any of those to whom Bacon assigns this highest place of honor, whose names can hardly be repeated without a wondering smile, — Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael, — is it due to our Washington, as the founder of the American Union. But if to achieve or help to achieve this greatest work of man's wisdom and virtue gives title to a place among the chief benefactors, rightful heirs of the benedictions, of mankind, by equal reason shall the bold bad men who seek to undo the noble work, — *Eversores Imperiorum*, destroyers of States, — who for base and selfish ends rebel against beneficent governments, seek to overturn wise constitutions, lay powerful republican unions at the foot of foreign thrones, to bring on civil and foreign war, anarchy at home, dictation abroad, desolation, ruin, — by equal reason, I say, yes, a thousand-fold stronger, shall they inherit the execrations of the ages.

But to hide the deformity of the crime under the cloak of that sophistry which strives to make the worse appear the better reason, we are told by the leaders of the rebellion that, in our complex system of government, the separate States are "sovereign," and that the central power is only an "agency" established by these sovereigns to manage certain little affairs, such forsooth as Peace, War, Army, Navy, Finance, Territory, and relations with the Indian tribes, which they could not so conveniently administer themselves.

It happens unfortunately for this theory that the Federal Constitution, (which has been adopted by the people of every State of the Union as much as their own State Constitutions have been adopted, and is declared to be paramount to them,) nowhere recognizes the States as "sovereigns," in fact, that by their names, it does not recognize them at all; while the authority established by that instrument is recognized, in its text, not as an "agency," but as "the government of the United States." By that Constitution, moreover, which purports in its preamble to be ordained and established by "the people of the United States," it is expressly provided "that the members of the State legislatures and all executive and judicial officers shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution." Now it is a common thing, under all governments, for an agent to be bound by oath to be faithful to his sovereign, but I never heard before of sovereigns being bound by oath to be faithful to their agency.

Certainly I do not deny that the separate States are clothed with sovereign powers for the administration of local affairs. It is one of the most beautiful features of our mixed system of government, but it is equally true that, in adopting the Federal Constitution the States abdicated, by express renunciation, all the most important functions of National

Sovereignty, and by one comprehensive self-denying clause, gave up all right to contravene the Constitution of the United States. Specifically, and by enumeration, they renounced all the most important prerogatives of Independent States for peace and for war, the right to keep troops or ships-of-war in time of peace, or to engage in war unless actually invaded ; to enter into compact with another State or a foreign power ; to lay any duty on tonnage, or any impost on exports or imports without the consent of Congress ; to enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation ; to grant letters of marque and reprisal, and to emit bills of credit ; while all these powers and many others are expressly vested in the General Government. To ascribe to political communities, thus limited in their jurisdiction, — who cannot even establish a post-office on their own soil, — the character of independent sovereignty, and to reduce a national organization, clothed with all the transcendent powers of government to the name and condition of an “ agency ” of the States, proves nothing but that the logic of secession is on a par with its loyalty and patriotism.

Oh, but the “ reserved rights ! ” And what of the reserved rights ? The tenth amendment of the Constitution, supposed to provide for “ reserved rights,” is constantly misquoted. By that amendment “ the *powers* not delegated to the United States nor prohibited

by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." The "powers" reserved must of course be such as could have been, but were not, delegated to the United States; — could have been, but were not, prohibited to the States; — but to speak of the *right* of an *individual* State to secede, as a *power* that could have been, though it was not, delegated to the *United States*, is simple nonsense.

But waiving this obvious absurdity, can it need a serious argument to prove that there can be no State right to enter into a new confederation reserved under a constitution which expressly prohibits a State "to enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation," or any "agreement or compact with another State or a foreign power?" To say that the State may, by enacting the preliminary farce of secession, acquire the right to do the prohibited things; — to say, for instance, that though the States, in forming the Constitution, delegated to the United States and prohibited to themselves the power of declaring war, there was by implication reserved to each State the right of seceding and then declaring war; that though they expressly prohibited to the States, and delegated to the United States, the entire treaty-making power, they reserved by implication (for an express reservation is not pretended), to the individual States, to Florida for instance, the right to secede and then to make a treaty with Spain, retro-

ceding that Spanish colony, and thus surrendering to a foreign power the key to the Gulf of Mexico, — to maintain propositions like these, with whatever affected seriousness it is done, appears to me egregious trifling.

Pardon me, my friends, for dwelling on these wretched sophistries. But it is these which conducted the armed hosts of rebellion to your doors, on the terrible and glorious days of July, and which have brought upon the whole land the scourge of an aggressive and wicked war, — a war which can have no other termination compatible with the permanent safety and welfare of the country, but the complete destruction of the military power of the enemy. I have, on other occasions, attempted to show that to yield to his demands and acknowledge his independence, thus resolving the Union at once into two hostile governments, with a certainty of further disintegration, would annihilate the strength and the influence of the country, as a member of the family of nations; afford to foreign powers the opportunity and the temptation for disastrous and humiliating interference in our affairs; wrest from the Middle and Western States some of their great natural outlets to the sea, and of their most important lines of internal communication; deprive the commerce and navigation of the country of two thirds of our

sea-coast and of the fortresses which protect it; — not only so, but would enable each individual State, some of them with a white population equal to a good-sized northern county, — or rather the dominant party in each State to cede its territory, its harbors, its fortresses, the mouths of its rivers, to any foreign power. It cannot be that the people of the loyal States, — that twenty-two millions of brave and prosperous freemen, — will, for the temptation of a brief truce in an eternal border war, consent to this hideous national suicide.

Do not think that I exaggerate the consequences of yielding to the demands of the leaders of the rebellion. I understate them. They require of us not only all the sacrifices I have named, not only to cede to them — a foreign and hostile power — all the territory of the United States at present occupied by the rebel forces, but the abandonment to them of the vast regions we have rescued from their grasp, — of Maryland, of a part of Eastern Virginia and the whole of Western Virginia, the sea-coast of North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida; Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri; Arkansas and the larger portion of Mississippi and Louisiana, in most of which, with the exception of lawless guerillas, there is not a rebel in arms; in all of which the great majority of the people are loyal to the Union. We must

give back, too, the helpless colored population, thousands of whom are perilling their lives in the ranks of our armies, to a bondage rendered tenfold more bitter, by the momentary enjoyment of freedom. Finally, we must surrender every man in the southern country, white or black, who has moved a finger or spoken a word for the restoration of the Union, to a reign of terror as remorseless as that of Robespierre, which has been the chief instrument by which the rebellion has been organized and sustained, and has already filled the prisons of the South with noble men, whose only crime is that they are not the worst of criminals. The South is full of such men. I do not believe there has been a day since the election of President Lincoln, when, if an ordinance of secession could have been fairly submitted to the mass of the people, in any single Southern State, a majority of ballots would have been given in its favor. No, not in South Carolina. It is not possible that the majority of the people, even of that State, if permitted, without fear or favor, to give a ballot on the question, would have abandoned a leader like Petigrew, and all the memories of the Gadsdens, the Rutledges, and the Cotesworth Pinckneys of the revolutionary and constitutional age, to follow the agitators of the present day.

Nor must we be deterred from the vigorous prosecution of the war, by the suggestion, continually thrown out by the rebels and those who sympathize with them, that, however it might have been at an earlier stage, there has been engendered by the operations of the war a state of exasperation and bitterness which, independent of all reference to the original nature of the matters in controversy, will forever prevent the restoration of the Union and the return of harmony between the two great sections of the country. This opinion I take to be entirely without foundation.

No man can deplore more than I do the miseries of every kind, unavoidably incident to war. Who could stand on this spot and call to mind the scenes of the first days of July with any other feeling? A sad foreboding of what would ensue, if war should break out between North and South, has haunted me through life, and led me perhaps too long to tread in the path of hopeless compromise, in the fond endeavor to conciliate those who were predetermined not to be conciliated. But it is not true, as is pretended by the rebels and their sympathizers, that the war has been carried on by the United States without entire regard to those temperaments which are enjoined by the law of nations, by our modern civilization, and by the spirit of Christianity.

It would be quite easy to point out, in the recent military history of the leading European powers, acts of violence and cruelty, in the prosecution of their wars, to which no parallel can be found among us. In fact when we consider the peculiar bitterness with which civil wars are almost invariably waged, we may justly boast of the manner in which the United States have carried on the contest. It is of course impossible to prevent the lawless acts of stragglers and deserters, or the occasional unwarrantable proceedings of subordinates on distant stations; but I do not believe there is, in all history, the record of a civil war of such gigantic dimensions where so little has been done in the spirit of vindictiveness, as in this war, by the government and commanders of the United States; and this notwithstanding the provocation given by the rebel government by assuming the responsibility of wretches like Quantrell, refusing quarter to colored troops, and scourging and selling into slavery free colored men from the North who fall into their hands, covering the sea with pirates, refusing a just exchange of prisoners, while they crowd their armies with paroled prisoners not exchanged, and starving prisoners of war to death.

In the next place, if there are any present who believe that, in addition to the effect of the military

operations of the war, the confiscation acts and emancipation proclamations have imbittered the rebels beyond the possibility of reconciliation, I would request them to reflect, that the tone of the rebel leaders and rebel press was just as bitter in the first months of the war, nay before a gun was fired, as it is now. There were speeches made in Congress in the very last session before the outbreak of the rebellion, so ferocious, as to show that their authors were under the influence of a real frenzy. At the present day, if there is any discrimination made by the Confederate press in the affected scorn, hatred, and contumely, with which every shade of opinion and sentiment in the loyal States is treated, the bitterest contempt is bestowed upon those at the North who still speak the language of compromise, and who condemn those measures of the administration which are alleged to have rendered the return of peace hopeless.

No, my friends, that gracious Providence which overrules all things for the best, from seeming evil still educing good, has so constituted our natures, that the violent excitement of the passions in one direction is generally followed by a reaction in an opposite direction, and the sooner for the violence. If it were not so — if anger produced abiding anger, if hatred caused undying hatred, if injuries inflicted

and retaliated of necessity led to new retaliations, with forever accumulating compound interest of revenge, — then the world, thousands of years ago, would have been turned into an earthly hell, and the nations of the earth would have been resolved into clans of furies and demons, each forever warring with his neighbor. But it is not so. All history teaches a different lesson. The wars of the roses in England lasted an entire generation, from the battle of St. Albans, in 1455, to that of Bosworth Field, in 1485. Speaking of the former, Hume says: “This was the first blood spilt in that fatal quarrel, which was not finished in less than a course of thirty years; which was signalized by twelve pitched battles; which opened a scene of extraordinary fierceness and cruelty; is computed to have cost the lives of eighty princes of the blood; and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England. The strong attachments which, at that time, men of the same kindred bore to each other, and the vindictive spirit which was considered a point of honor, rendered the great families implacable in their resentments, and widened every moment the breach between the parties.” Such was the state of things in England under which an entire generation grew up; but when Henry VII., in whom the titles of the two houses were united, went up to

London after the battle of Bosworth Field to mount the throne, he was everywhere received with joyous acclamations, "as one ordained and sent from Heaven to put an end to the dissensions" which had so long afflicted the country.

The great rebellion in England of the seventeenth century, after long and angry premonitions, may be said to have begun with the calling of the Long Parliament, in 1640, and to have ended with the return of Charles II., in 1660,—twenty years of discord, conflict, and civil war; of confiscation, plunder, havoc; a proud hereditary peerage trampled in the dust; a national church overturned, its clergy beggared, its most eminent prelate put to death; a military despotism established on the ruins of a monarchy which had subsisted seven hundred years, and the legitimate sovereign brought to the block; the great families which adhered to the king proscribed, impoverished, ruined; prisoners of war—a fate worse than confinement in Libby—sold to slavery in the West Indies;—in a word, everything that can embitter and madden contending factions. Such was the state of things for twenty years, and yet, by no gentle transition, but suddenly, and "when the restoration of affairs appeared most hopeless," the son of the beheaded sovereign was brought back to his father's blood-stained throne, with such "unexpress-

ible and universal joy," as led the merry monarch to exclaim, "He doubted it had been his own fault he had been absent so long, for he saw nobody who did not protest he had ever wished for his return." "In this wonderful manner," says Clarendon, "and with this incredible expedition, did God put an end to a rebellion that had raged near twenty years, and had been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of murder, devastation, and parricide, that fire and sword, in the hands of the most wicked men in the world [it is a royalist that is speaking] could be instruments of, almost to the desolation of two kingdoms, and the exceeding defacing and deforming of the third. . . . By these remarkable steps did the merciful hand of God, in this short space of time, not only bind up and heal all those wounds, but even made the scar as undiscernible as, in respect of the deepness, was possible, which was a glorious addition to the deliverance."

In Germany, the wars of the Reformation and of Charles V. in the sixteenth century, the thirty years' war in the seventeenth century, the seven years' war in the eighteenth century, not to speak of other less celebrated contests, entailed upon that country all the miseries of intestine strife for more than three centuries. At the close of the last-named war, which was the shortest of all, and waged in the most civil-

ized age, "An officer," says Archenholz, "rode through seven villages in Hesse, and found in them but one human being." More than three hundred principalities, comprehended in the empire, fermented with the fierce passions of proud and petty states; at the commencement of this period the castles of robber counts frowned upon every hill-top; a dreadful secret tribunal, whose seat no one knew, whose power none could escape, froze the hearts of men with terror throughout the land; religious hatred mingled its bitter poison in the seething caldron of provincial animosity; but of all these deadly enmities between the States of Germany, scarcely the memory remains. There is no country in the world in which the sentiment of national brotherhood is stronger. There are controversies in that country, at the present day, but they grow mainly out of the rivalry of the two leading powers.

In Italy, on the breaking up of the Roman Empire, society might be said to be resolved into its original elements;—into hostile atoms, whose only movement was that of mutual repulsion. Ruthless barbarians had destroyed the old organizations and covered the land with a merciless feudalism. As the new civilization grew up, under the wing of the Church, the noble families and the walled towns fell madly into conflict with each other; the sec-

ular feud of pope and emperor scourged the land; province against province; city against city; street against street waged remorseless war against each other from father to son, till Dante was able to fill his imaginary hell with the real demons of Italian history. So ferocious had the factions become, that the great poet-exile himself, the glory of his native city, and of his native language, was by a decree of the municipality, ordered to be burned alive, if found in the city of Florence. But these deadly feuds and hatreds yielded to political influences, as the hostile cities were grouped into states under stable governments; the lingering traditions of the ancient animosities gradually died away, and now Tuscan and Lombard, Sardinian and Neapolitan, as if to shame the degenerate sons of America, are joining in one cry for an united Italy.

In France, not to go back to the civil wars of the League in the sixteenth century, and of the Fronde in the seventeenth, — not to speak of the dreadful scenes throughout the kingdom which followed the revocation of the edict of Nantes, — we have, in the great revolution which commenced at the close of the last century, seen the bloodhounds of civil strife let loose as rarely before in the history of the world. The reign of terror established at Paris, stretched its bloody Briarean arms to every city and village in

the land, and if the most deadly feuds which ever divided a people had the power to cause permanent alienation and hatred, this surely was the occasion. But far otherwise the fact. In seven years from the fall of Robespierre, the strong arm of the youthful conqueror brought order out of this chaos of crime and woe ; Jacobins, whose hands were scarcely cleansed from the best blood of France, met the returning emigrants whose estates they had confiscated and whose kindred they had dragged to the guillotine, in the Imperial antechambers ; and when, after another turn of the wheel of fortune, Louis XVIII. was restored to his throne, he took the regicide Fouchè, who had voted for his brother's death, to his cabinet and confidence.

The people of loyal America will never desire you, sir, to take to your confidence or admit again to a share in the government the hard-hearted men whose cruel lust of power has brought this desolating war upon the land, but there is no personal bitterness felt even against them. They may live, if they can bear to live, after wantonly causing the death of so many thousands of their fellow-men ; they may live in safe obscurity beneath the shelter of the government they have sought to overthrow, or they may fly to the protection of the governments of Europe, — some of them are already there, seeking, happily in vain,

to obtain the aid of foreign powers in furtherance of their own treason. There let them stay. The humblest dead soldier, that lies cold and stiff in his grave before us, is an object of envy beneath the clods that cover him, in comparison with the living man, I care not with what trumpery credentials he may be furnished, who is willing to grovel at the foot of a foreign throne, for assistance in compassing the ruin of his country.

But the hour is coming, and now is, when the power of the leaders of the rebellion to delude and inflame must cease. There is no bitterness on the part of the masses. The people of the South are not going to wage an eternal war for the wretched pretexts by which this rebellion is sought to be justified. The bonds that unite us as one people, a substantial community of origin, language, belief, and law (the four great ties that hold the societies of men together), common national and political interests; a common history; a common pride in a glorious ancestry; a common interest in this great heritage of blessings; the very geographical features of the country; the mighty rivers that cross the lines of climate, and thus facilitate the interchange of natural and industrial products; while the wonder-working arm of the engineer has levelled the mountain walls which separate the East and West, com-

pling your own Alleghanies, my Maryland and Pennsylvania friends, to open wide their everlasting doors to the chariot-wheels of traffic and travel; these bonds of union are of perennial force and energy, while the causes of alienation are imaginary, factitious, and transient. The heart of the people, North and South, is for the Union. Indications, too plain to be mistaken, announce the fact both in the east and the west of the States in rebellion. In North Carolina and Arkansas the fatal charm at length is broken. At Raleigh and Little Rock the lips of honest and brave men are unsealed, and an independent press is unlimbering its artillery. When its rifled cannon shall begin to roar, the hosts of treasonable sophistry, the mad delusions of the day, will fly like the rebel army through the passes of yonder mountain. The weary masses of the people are yearning to see the dear old flag again floating upon their capitols, and they sigh for the return of the peace, prosperity, and happiness which they enjoyed under a government whose power was felt only in its blessings.

And now, friends, fellow-citizens of Gettysburg and Pennsylvania, and you from remoter States, let me again, as we part, invoke your benediction on these honored graves. You feel, though the occasion is mournful, that it is good to be here. You

feel that it was greatly auspicious for the cause of the country that the men of the East and the men of the West, the men of nineteen sister States, stood side by side, on the perilous ridges of the battle. You now feel it a new bond of union, that they shall lie side by side, till a clarion louder than that which marshalled them to the combat, shall awake their slumbers. God bless the union;—it is dearer to us for the blood of those brave men shed in its defence. The spots on which they stood and fell; these pleasant heights; the fertile plain beneath them; the thriving village whose streets so lately rang with the strange din of war; the fields beyond the ridge, where the noble Reynolds held the advancing foe at bay, and while he gave up his own life, assured by his forethought and self-sacrifice, the triumph of the two succeeding days; the little streams which wind through the hills, on whose banks in after times, the wondering ploughman will turn up, with the rude weapons of savage warfare, the fearful missiles of modern artillery; the Seminary Ridge, the peach-orchard, Cemetery, Culp's, and Wolf's Hills, Round Top, Little Round Top, humble names, henceforward dear and famous; no lapse of time, no distance of space shall cause you to be forgotten. "The whole earth," said Pericles, as he stood over the remains of his fellow-citizens, who had fallen in the

first year of the Peloponnesian war, "the whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men." All time, he might have added, is the millennium of their glory. Surely I would do no injustice to the other noble achievements of the war, which have reflected such honor on both arms of the service, and have entitled the armies and the navy of the United States, their officers and men, to the warmest thanks and the richest rewards which a grateful people can pay. But they, I am sure, will join us in saying, as we bid farewell to the dust of these martyr-heroes, that wheresoever throughout the civilized world the accounts of this great warfare are read, and down to the latest period of recorded time, in the glorious annals of our common country, there will be no brighter page than that which relates THE BATTLES OF GETTYSBURG.



NAMES

OF SOLDIERS BURIED IN THE MASSACHUSETTS LOT IN
THE CEMETERY AT GETTYSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA.

SECTION A. FIRST, OR OUTSIDE, PARALLEL.

No. of Grave.	Names.	Co.	Regt.	Remarks.
1	Arthur Murphy,		9 Bat.	
2	J. W. Verity,		5 "	Killed July 3, '63. Æt. 17.
3	E. T. F.		5 "	
4	John Crosson,		9 "	
5	H. P. Burrill,		20	
6	Thomas Kelly,	A	20	
7	George Lucas,	D	20	Killed July 3, 1863.
8	Louis Kraft,	C	20	" " " "
9	Thomas R. Gallivan,	F	20	
10	M. Kinarch,	H	20	
11	E. Barry,	C	20	
12	Sergeant G. Jaeckel,	B	20	" " " "
13	Patrick O'Keefe,	F	20	
14	Thomas Downey,	E	20	
15	Corporal J. Somerville,	E	20	

No. of Grave.	Names.	Co.	Regt.	Remarks.
16	William Inch,	D	20	Killed July 3, 1863.
17	Augustus Duetling,	C	20	
18	Sergeant George F. Cate,	A	20	" " "
19	G. Weisensus,	B	20	
20	Frederic Quinlan,	F	20	
21	Robert Plant,	A	20	
22	Hugh Blair,	H	20	
23	Patrick Manning,	D	20	
24	John McClarence,	F	20	
25	John Dippott,	B	20	
26	H. Howard,	D	20	
27	Eugene McLaughlin,	F	20	Died July 6, 1863.
28	Corporal John Burk,	K	20	" August 9, 1863.
29	Alexander Aiken,	D	20	
30	James Lane,	F	20	
31	George F. Falls,	D		Excelsior, (N. Y.) Boston.
32	George S. Wise,	D	13	Died July 12, 1863.
33	— McLaughlin,			" November 8, 1863.
34	Edward Field,	B	13	
35	John Brocke,	H	13	
36	F. A. Gould,	K	13	
37	Corporal F. A. Dunton,	H	13	
38	John Fly,	K	13	Died July 27, 1863.
39	Edgar A. Fisk,	E	13	

SECTION B. SECOND PARALLEL.

No. of Grave.	Names.	Co.	Regt.	Remarks.
1	Charles Trainer,	I	2	
2	W. T. Bullard,	A	2	
3	John Joy,	I	2	
4	P. H. Peck,	G	2	
5	Stephen Cody,	I	2	
6	Richard Seavers,	H	2	
7	George Bailey,	I	2	
8	A. Nelson,	D	2	
9	John Daur,	D	2	
10	Corporal G. S. Wilson,	G	2	
11	Joseph Furber,	G	2	
12	Color-Corp. R. J. Sadler,	D	2	Killed July 3, 1863.
13	Frederic Maynard,	D	2	
14	P. Hoyer,	A	2	Killed July 3, 1863.
15	Sergeant L. C. Durgin,	A	2	
16	William Marshall,	C	2	July 3, 1863.
17	Corporal R. Whittier,	B	2	
18	J. Edmands,	I	2	Died July 5, 1863.
19	J. C. Farrington,	H	2	" " 3, "
20	P. Canlon,	B	2	" " 11, "
21	S. S. Prouty,	A	2	" " 19, "
22	F. Geotz,	C	2	" " 6, "
23	Corp. Theodore Butters,	I	2	" " 31, " Æt. 22.
24	David Brown,	I	2	" " 21, "
25	W. H. Ela,	D	2	" " 10, "

No. of Grave.	Names.	Co.	Regt.	Remarks.
26	J. A. Chase,	C	2	Died July 16, 1863.
27	C. Kirnan,	F	2	" " 13, "
28	Andrew Moor,		1	
29	Lieut. Henry Hartley,		1	
30	Frederic S. Kettell,	E	1	" August 2, 1863.
31	George Golden,	B	1	" July 13, "
32	David H. Eaton,	B	1	" " 15, "
33	Jacob Kesland,	B	1	
34	Sergt. E. E. J. McGinnis,	C	1	Killed July 2, 1863.
35	J. Matthews,	B	1	Died " " "
36	William Kelren,		1	
37	Henry Evans,		1	

SECTION C. THIRD PARALLEL.

No. of Grave.	Names.	Co.	Regt.	Remarks.
1	J. L. Johnson,	K	11	Died August 4, 1863.
2	Joseph Marshall,	K	11	" " 3, "
3	James E. Butler,	D	11	" " 2, "
4	M. Doherty,	A	11	" July 2, "
5	L. Staples,	A	11	" " " "
6	Corp. Edwin F. Trufant,	F	11	" " " "
7	Corp. R. T. Knowlton,	H	11	
8	Sergt. W. Sawtell,	E	11	" " 5, "
9	J. S. Reed,	K	11	" " 15, "
10	Samuel A. Davis,	K	11	" August 3, "
11	F. S. Fiint,	H	11	" July 3, "

No. of Grave.	Names.	Co.	Regt.	Remarks.
12	John Bradie,		11	
13	Sergt. William Carr,	I	12	
14	George F. Lewis,	H	12	Died July 3, 1863.
15	Hardy Murray,	H	12	
16	T. H. Fenelon,	G	32	
17	W. D. Hudson,	H	32	
18	Barney Clark,	G	32	" " 14, "
19	Sergt. J. M. Haskell,	A	32	" Aug. 25, '63. Æt. 28.
20	A. W. Lamb,	A	32	" July.
21	William F. Baldwin,	B	32	" " 28, 1863.
22	H. T. Wade,	E	32	" " 31, "
23	William L. Gilman,	K	32	" " 28, "
24	D. Stoddard,	F	32	
25	N. Mayo,	F	32	
26	T. Healey,	G	32	
27	T. H. Sevens,			
28	Sergt. Gorham Coffin,	A	19	" " 2, "
29	Sergt. Joseph Ford,	K	19	" " " "
30	Edmund Roache,	E	19	" " 3, "
31	Corp. J. Tuttle,	I	19	" " 2, "
32	Jeremiah Wells,		19	" " 14, "
33	Charles Garney,			
34	E. Besançon,	E	37	
35	Elihu Carroll,	F	37	" " 22, "

SECTION D. FOURTH PARALLEL.

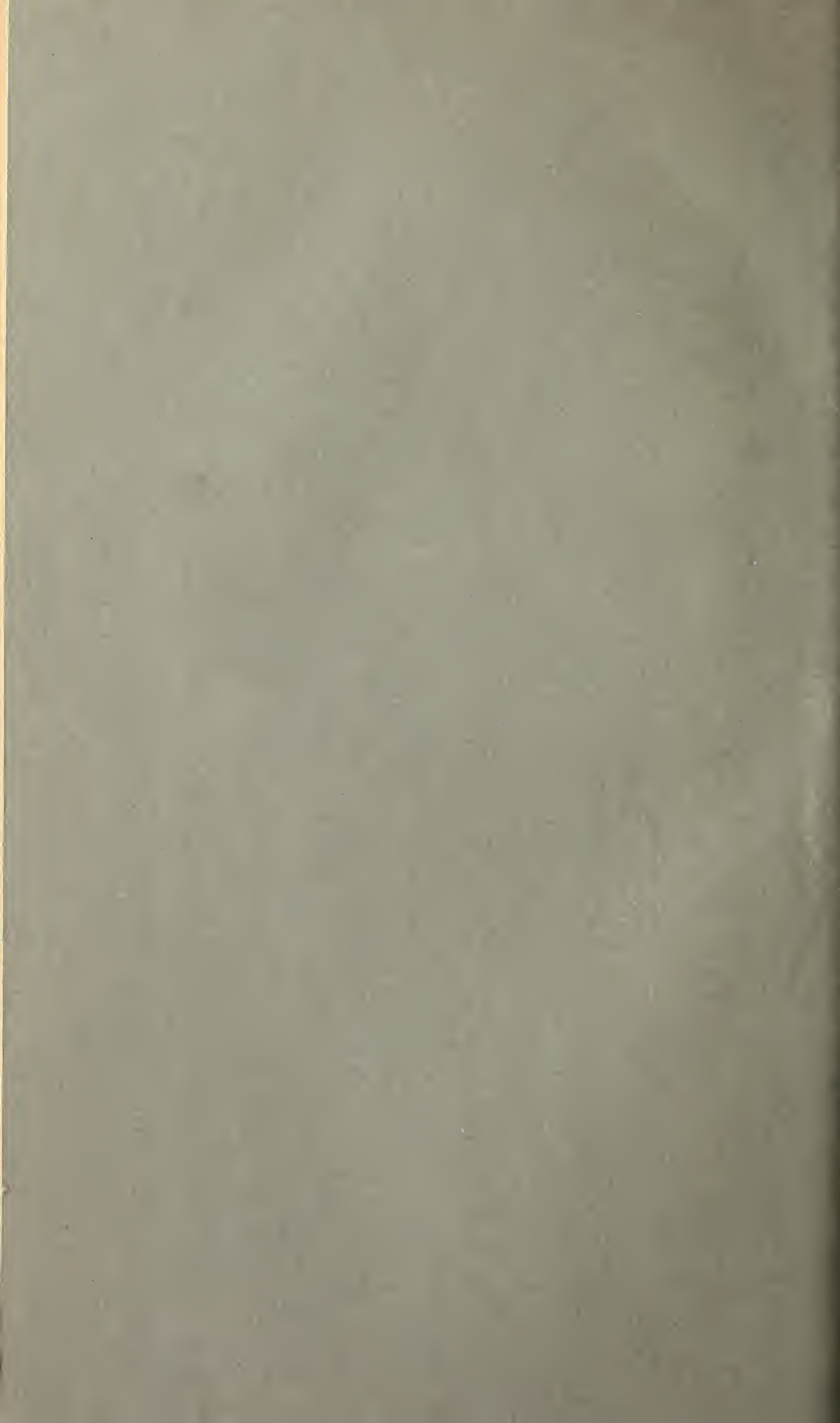
No. of Grave.	Names.	Co.	Regt.	Remarks.
1	Sergt. Henry C. Ball,	F	15	
2	J. Marsh,	B	15	Died July 2, 1863.
3	Michael Flinn,	G	15	
4	O. Stevens,	D	15	" " 3, "
5	C. W. Cross,	E	15	
6	J. Boardsley,	I	15	
7	Francis Sauturne,	I	15	
8	F. A. Lewis,	A	15	Killed July 3, 1863.
9	G. E. Burns,	G	15	" " 15, "
10	G. L. Bass,	B	15	
11	Sergt. — Rollins,	A	15	
12	— Grady,		15	
13	N. D. Bicknell,	C	11	
14	Pierce Harvey,		15	Died July 17, 1863.
15	G. Lambert,	F	22	" " "
16	C. S. Fields,	B	22	
17	John Hickey,	C	28	
18	John Caswell,	G	28	
19	Edward Mooney,	D	28	" " 2, "
20	Joseph Beal,	I	33	" " 31, "
21	C. H. Pierce,	E	33	" " 12, "
22	Unknown,			
23	Geo. Hills. N. Bedford,			" " 20, "
24	Corp. Patrick Scannell,	B	19	" " 3, "
25	Sergt. Alonzo J. Babcock.	H	2	" August 6, " Æt. 27.

No. of Grave.	Names.	Co.	Regt.	Remarks.
26	Julius R. Allen,	D	33	
27	Calvin How,	I	33	
28	E. Horn,	H	33	
29	J. Danforth,	C	19	
30	C. A. Trask,	K	13	
31	C. H. Wellington,	K	13	

RECAPITULATION.

Section A.....	39
“ B.....	37
“ C.....	35
“ D.....	31
Total.....	<u>142</u>







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